feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sānchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá. 105 177 [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs. 105 177 182

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials. [616]

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions. 105 [162] [648] [628]

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman [594] [596] [591] [648] [361] [991] [526]

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./

being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

This road connects Passarinho with Moreira, the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the principal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União." In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

159 He went on to say, with obvious satisfaction, that he was
875 the first Indian to study in that Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana--and that he was followed by another Terêna, Hermes Baltazar, today his closest collaborator at the aldea school.

62/ As the school grew, it developed into an aldea,
872 since it not only served Indians but also the surrounding neo-Brazilian population. With the construction of the second school building in 1951, the community had the facilities to maintain a complete course of primary studies.

[785] The supply of pupils for the "Escola Evangélica União"
[162] includes neo-Brazilian children, the offspring of small-farmer "Believers" /crentes/ (as Evangelists are called), the Terêna of Moreira aldea, which is made up almost exclusively of "Believers"--in which respect it differs from and up to a certain point contrasts with Passarinho--, as well as the children of União aldea itself, which at the time of our visit numbered some 10 families and a corresponding number of houses.

36/ If we compare the three population nuclei of
312 Passarinho, Moreira, and União, we see that the situation
● 62 of the last mentioned is far more favorable: aside from covering an area somewhat smaller than that of Passarinho (118 hectares) and larger than Moreira's (53 hectares), it possesses a sizable water reservoir /tanque dágua/ that is the envy of some neighboring farmers, who do not hesitate to turn their cattle loose on União lands, which
[233] naturally displeases the Indians. The latter own cattle
[24] and plant extensive plots of manioc, maize, beans /feijao miúdo/, cane, and other species, more or less the typical products of Terêna agriculture and of the regional "do-
36/ mestic farming." Neither Moreira nor Passarinho have
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[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./ his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since continued to catechize the Terêna. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea, on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I. A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the
geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy
reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one
in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal
have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem
of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[189] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal,
excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[348] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central
nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate
to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue
stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we
find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the
other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the
reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha
and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central
nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected
not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira,
Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The
major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal,
in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to
supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and
Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far
more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

/90 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[305] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
● 628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[797] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
638 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /título/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

191 cont. / [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

361 Native Post, is central only because it comprises the post
621 building, along with the Catholic church and six Indian dwellings; in the second nucleus, called Água Branca aldea, there is the bulk of the "reservation" population, with 14 ranchos on the banks of the Urumbeva and quite close to the old aldea of Laranjal. Água Branca is actually the oldest population concentration, surpassing by far the other nucleus, which is more important only from an administrative standpoint, since
872 the native post is built in it. The official aldea school
875 operates in the post building, its teacher is the captain's daughter, and it is attended only by the children of nearby homes. Thus, all of the child and youth population of Água Branca, which naturally includes most of the children in the community, is excluded from the official school and is served only by a small private school headed by a Terêna "Believer." (150)

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150. This school in "Água Branca" was built only recently. In 1955, when we were there, there was only the post school, and the inhabitants of Brejão, as a rule, implied that they wanted nothing to do with "Believers."

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Nevertheless, the above-mentioned group from Aldeinha--led by old "Neco"--organized a "passeio" /"walk"/ (the term used by the informant) to "Água Branca" and, as a result, the visitors were invited to build a school there. With four men from Aldeinha and some helpers from "Água Branca"

[34]
[879]

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

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they erected a spacious shed and left there a teacher, at a salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a month, recruited from the Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 621 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community, it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia," Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements. It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho." [439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia," but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians, 439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close contact and intensive trade relations with the native community. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/, and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it 241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community plants for its own consumption the following species: rice, /sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts. 797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community [340] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that on the reservation there is no building that might be called a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics. As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission, 177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture change in the community are limited to the post, practically

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

disruption of local groups, during the Paraguayan war. During and immediately following this period until the reorganization of the villages at the beginning of this century, the Terena subsisted in extreme poverty, even at times being held as slaves on the ranches which sprang into being after the war and the demobilization of government troops in the area. The result, as can be seen today, was the discontinuance of frequent and systematic contact among the communities, now located on the Indian reserves, with the subsequent loss of interest of a Terena in his tribesman in another village. Even thoug it is still not difficult for a Terena to find some relative in any one of the other villages, the relationship is so distant and so weak that there is no basis for encouraging the tie. A Terena continues to identify himself with his local group, his stratum and his moiety. He also continues to treat his relatives in another village as one of his people. But the original fabric of intercommunal relations, of trading goods and exchanging women, has disappeared completely, weakening tribal solidarity to the point at which each community forms a discrete unit with a destiny distinct from that of the rest.

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/89 cont./

owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited by his son, who carries on in power. /90/

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon callpahúquethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky piphâyty; the earth piphéytó.

Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approximately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited, the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest being from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is inhabited by 367 Indians.